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them we can pay our bills and direct these activities rationally toward a richer social health and a deeper personal enjoyment as far as possible for all, we shall then be in the way of opening up those wider significances of what life means. If we can go about this business with a fair measure of unanimity, we shall then be in the way of democracy. It seems to us, therefore, that the program of the American people, and we do not here essay to speak for other nations, is now to bring our schools, churches, class organizations, and legislation to the task of dignifying the individual man—the body of him, the mind and spirit of him—in the interest of the whole.

This is a present and an ever enduring path along which America can move in her course toward that international service which she aims to render to the cause of international peace. When once we have agreed upon this, the darkness of the present will cease to give us concern.

## THE MENACE OF THE POLICE POWER

FOR generations, states, adopting methods of the wild animals of the jungle, have fashioned their policies according to the cunning of the saber-toothed tiger. For nearly five years, the major nations of the world have been exercising their teeth and claws, some unto their death, all unto their serious injury. Constitutional government for the time has been abolished.

But we are now emerging again from the jungle. The great war, if not technically ended, is practically over. The reign of martial law, especially in America, should now be less in evidence. Yet there are signs which point ominously to the contrary. The activities of our police in certain sections are more drastic, reprehensible, and dangerous than in the days of the "Writs of Assistance" of unsavory memory. Detectives operating in the Department of Justice—let us note the name of the department—are arresting private citizens without warrant, entering their homes, opening their private papers and other effects, putting them in jail and keeping them there for days, stating, defining and executing the law with less semblance of justice than in the darkest days of the Inquisition.

We do not refer to the activities of Mr. Archibald Stevenson, censor of patriotism, prosecutor of the Soviet Bureau, of the Rand school, and the like. We know of his activities only through the daily press. But we do know at first hand one Nowack, who was arrested, held in jail for a week, after which he was discharged with no evidence of guilt having been found against him. The only reason for his arrest was that his name appeared on a slip of paper from a newspaper found in the pocket of an old soldier, aged seventy-six, who had been arrested for some offense.

We do know of one Lewis Koerner, who was arrested without warrant, confined for days in jail, released under a writ of *habeas corpus*, the United States District Attorney confessing that he had found no reason for holding the prisoner. The result is that Koerner has lost his job, and, because of his experience, he has been discredited. In consequence of it all he has had to leave town to seek employment elsewhere.

We also know of the case of one Max Holder, whose story we have been able to obtain just as he has addressed it to the United States Attorney General, the Honorable Mitchell Palmer. Our readers will be pleased to know that the equity in this case is to be made public, for Holder has brought action in the courts against W. J. Flynn, chief of the Government detectives under the Department of Justice, and against his first assistant, Lawrence O'Dea. A prominent newspaper at the time of Holder's arrest stated that the officers had found in his room a scrapbook belonging to him and containing accounts of bomb outrages. Upon examination it is found that the scrapbook contains extracts from the writings of Dr. Frank Crane. The attorneys for the plaintiff have asked that the paper retract this article and apologize. Holder's letter to the Attorney General follows:

"I consider it my duty to my country, and to myself, to respectfully call your attention to the unspeakable wrongs perpetrated against me by Chief Flynn and his subordinates. I hope to be pardoned for a brief history of my life and activities in the last 12 years, since I came to the shores of this great land, so that you will be in a better position to judge my contentions.

"I was 21 years old when I came here, a fugitive from military service in Austria, of Roumanian parentage. The first five years I spent in New York city, together with my mother and sister. The former still lives there. I then yearned to know this country better, and my wanderlust took me through the large Eastern cities to Minneapolis, where I married. It was there that I took up the study of law, which I completed in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1918.

"My travels made it impossible for me to obtain citizenship before last year, when my technical status as an alien enemy prevented my obtaining it. I then took the only course open to me, and applied to your predecessor for special dispensation, a power granted to him by Congress, to become a citizen. I still have the reply to that letter in my possession. I was unsuccessful in this move, as I was unable to get even a form application from Mr. O'Brien, an assistant apparently in charge of these proceedings.

"I came to this city in January of this year to get a little rest from my studies, during which I supported my mother and family. I worked as a waiter during the time I studied, and am a member of the Waiters' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L. In the month of March last I was called upon to manage the strike

against the Raleigh Hotel, a struggle brought on solely by the greed and obstinacy of the management of the hotel, a claim which will be fully substantiated by Mr. R. B. Mahany of the Department of Labor. This was the first time that I was ever embroiled in any labor trouble.

"Before proceeding to the subject-matter of this communication, let me briefly narrate my war record. I purchased \$800.00 worth of Liberty bonds, and war stamps in the sum of \$150.00. I served on the 'Legal Advisory Board,' assisting in filling out of questionnaires for draftees, working 5 hours a day for many weeks, without any compensation. I waived all claims to exemption, and thus volunteered for service; the armistice was declared before I was called. In the last drive for funds I made and fought for a motion in my union that it buy a \$1,000.00 bond, which was done over opposition to purchase a \$500.00 bond. I am not a member of the Socialist Party or any other radical organization, nor of the I. W. W., and have never been affiliated with it.

"On Friday, June 13, two detectives came to the office of the Union, and asked me to accompany them to the office of Inspector Grant of the District Police, who desired to see me. When I arrived at the District Building, I was confronted with Mr. Lawrence O'Dea, of the Secret Service Department, who had me searched. I was subjected to an examination, without being informed of the source or nature of the accusation against me. I was told that I would not be permitted to see an attorney or friend before this investigation had been completed. I protested, at the same time answering all questions fully, and without any reservations. I was then lodged in Police Station No. 1. On Saturday, June 14, I was photographed and measured for the Rogues' Gallery. Sunday night Mr. O'Dea came to my cell, and informed me that nothing had been found against me, and that I would be released Monday. Tuesday night he again visited me, and said that he was too busy Monday to release me, and that he surely will take me out Wednesday. Again the unbearable suspense till Friday, at 3 P. M., when I was released by Mr. O'Dea, who then swore me to a personal bond of \$5,000.00. To this day I am in complete darkness as to the source and nature of the accusations against me.

"During my confinement of a week I was not allowed to see any one. My money had been taken from me, and I could not buy any extra food, a privilege afforded to any other prisoner, one of whom was a murderer. I was starving half of the time, owing to the quality and quantity of the food served there. I had never been in a prison in my life. The place is full of vermin. I had nothing but an iron cot to sleep on. I was not allowed to wash my hands and face in the seven days of my imprisonment.

"And all this—for what reasons and what grounds? Mr. O'Dea and through him Mr. Flynn, who ordered my arrest, and who, according to the newspapers, had come straight from New York to accomplish this, knew where I had been for the last four years, in Cleveland.

If a report against me did come in, would it not have been advisable to inquire there about my loyalty and patriotism? Surely, this was an easy thing to do. To my mind such brutal and unheard-of tyranny does not tend to make good citizens, nor do they accord with the principles of law, order and justice. Is it possible, may I ask, that any fair-minded man would admit that this degradation and torture of my soul and body was warranted by any doctrine of law and fairness? What do the hundreds of my personal friends now think of these tactics? Will such practices make of them and myself better citizens? At the time of my arrest I had a position as manager of the Arlington Roof Garden, which I lost; I am unable to get employment now because of my apprehension and attendant publicity of me as a bomb-thrower.

"I do not care to talk at this time of what I have found out about the evident inefficiency and stupidity of the Secret Service System as conducted now. Allow me to say that I expect you will see fit to thoroughly look into the present methods and tactics of Mr. Flynn and his aids, so that no unnecessary injuries be done to men's reputations and lives. I am fully convinced that this is a very serious matter, and deserves your close attention. May I say that I urgently request

"1. A complete exoneration in writing.

"2. The return to me of all my records in the Rogues' Gallery.

"3. That I be informed of the source and nature of the accusations against me.

"Trusting to hear from you in the premises, allow me to remain."

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Congressman Fiorello H. La Guardia, Republican candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen, New York City, who went to war, made a brilliant record as an aviator, and later served admirably as a quasi-diplomat in bringing Rome and Washington to see eye to eye when friction developed between the two peoples. Since his return to Congress he has repeatedly shown that his experiences in war have not made him a militarist. Indeed, quite the contrary. In his recent campaign for office in New York City he has refused to capitalize his military record for political purposes. He has voiced the opinion that because he flew an airplane and dropped bombs he is not therefore best fitted to make either municipal or national laws. He says that a majority of soldiers returning from Europe have no desire to perpetuate a military caste for political purposes. For himself, he has declined to join the American Legion precisely on this ground. He fears that it will come to be used for political purposes. Mr. La Guardia was born in the Italian colony of New York City; for a time was an interpreter at Ellis Island, and apparently he knows what genuine Americanism is better than many members of the exclusive "patriotic" orders of the country.

When King Albert of Belgium got out into the real America and away from its congested seaboard cities, when he saw village after village and town after town with its well-constructed and sizeable school, he ventured to do some reasoning from cause to effect. In substance his syllogism was this: Your soldiers seemed to be born fighting men. They were the product of your wonderful schools. Ergo: The educated soldier is the finest kind of a soldier. Does the King, who is a democrat, realize that a majority of these soldiers were taught by women, following a curriculum without the slightest taint of military tactics or schooling for "preparedness"?

Ethics and mechanisms, whether political, economic, or financial, have a vital relation—so vital that it is dangerous to expand the one without making due provision for the other. Sir Oliver Lodge had this in mind when, recently addressing British and foreign delegates to the Watts Centenary, he said that he hoped that the method of applying and utilizing the terrible atomic energy, which scientists now know man will have at his disposal, would not be discovered until man has developed his mind and soul to use the power properly—that is, righteously. It is a case where "ignorance is bliss" until morality is ready to guide us to the use of the new knowledge. By this sign is the hope of contemporary extensions of the power of the state and the superstate.

How tersely the *Manchester Guardian* summed up the European situation in an article lauding the work of Mr. Hoover when it said: "The danger to our social fabric is no longer the armed ruffian; it is the starving baby. We no longer need generals; we need economists."

The head of the Australian Commonwealth, on his return to the island continent from Paris and London, in the course of an exuberant speech, said that "nothing short of murder or bigamy committed by returning soldiers would be counted unto them as crimes" by him. Fortunately, there are still statutes and courts in Australia. The statement shows how far some "statesmen" will go in catering to the theory that being a warrior covers a multitude of sins.

"Pigmy-minded," "aberration of thinking," "contemptible quitters," "jaundiced eyes," "amazing ignorance," "heads knots to prevent their bodies from unraveling"—we are beginning to suspect that the President may yet question the intelligence of certain members of the United States Senate.

It was a lucid-minded, terse-spoken Frenchman who said that the armistice had been followed by a "minimum of peace in a maximum of anarchy."

The distinguished Belgian prelate, Cardinal Mercier, of Malines, has been warmly received by the American people, who have expressed their welcome variously; but no more apt and gracious words have voiced the thought of us all than those used by President W. H. P. Faunce in announcing the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred upon His Eminence by Brown University September 30. President Faunce's words were:

"His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, Primate of Belgium, sometime professor in the University of Louvain, author, philosopher, Christian apostle, who through dark and bitter days kept the great soul of a small nation alive, protector of weakness, champion of justice, who never yielded right to might, but by invincible faith subdued kingdoms and put to flight armies of aliens."

If there are any persons in America interested to promote rebellion in any land outside America, let them turn to our criminal code No. 35, page 1089, section 13, and read. The language there is:

"Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begins or sets on foot, or provides or prepares the means for any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the dominions of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people with whom the United States are at peace, shall be fined not more than three thousand dollars and imprisoned not more than three years."

## THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

### I

## Our Hope in Public Education

BY ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

THE various controversies, many of unusually complex import, now before us in America, are giving rise to a pessimism which is thought to threaten, if not to endanger, some of the best things in our organized life. The war has destroyed much, and the gloom widely prevalent among European peoples is spreading palpably over us. In such a situation it is wholesome that we should search out our precious possessions which the war has not destroyed. Among these treasures left to us out of the holocaust, and more valuable because of it, is our faith in the power of public education.

Judging by the writings most widely read today, the two outstanding demands in the light of the war are for